235 262 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

235 417 For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

235 177 During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang region and were called elǭ (wild duck = elǭ́t); later they were called sǭǭ́ III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yǫ̂t) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esǎ́sǎ́ = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 222 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvùfūh IV, hūí IV Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wūí ; plural, mūí), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 136 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish. Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

226 outstanding and most typical representatives of the fish world of
136 the Campo-Uelle region are shown on Plate 9. Here the family of the sheatfish (Siluridae) is especially abundantly represented. Of these fish we should mention: Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekí̱da Fang, kí̱da IV Ntum; young = osṓb); the spiny-finned sheatfish, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr., that is the catfish of the Pangwe, nsĭ́n I (1); Clarias submarginatus Ptrs.

1. nsĭ́n I, the civet cat Genetta, because the fish is spotted in exactly the same way.

(mvā́ IV Fang, mvḗ IV Ntum); and Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngŏ́ IV), as well as a new Syndontis species, Synodontis tessmanni Papph. (ebū́), and a new Clariallabes species, Clariallabes longicandatus Papph. (ndŏ̄ŋga I, odŏ̄ge III). Furthermore, species were gathered from the genera Doumea, Parauchenoglanis, and Atopochilus. Of the Mormyridae the following should be mentioned: Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.), anĕ́n, which is to be found everywhere and is notable because of its peculiar /109/ tail fin equipped with an electrically charged organ; and, secondly, Marcusenius sphekodes (Sauv.), ntŏ́tŏ́m I. Both of these are smaller species and of no importance for the Pangwe. Of the family of the Characinidae, the following are especially noteworthy: Sarcodaces odoë (Bl.), nsŏ́ I); Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr., mbūń I; and the newly discovered Alestes tessmanni Papph. (ekí̱da Fang, kī̱da IV Ntum). From the family of the Cyprinidae there are species of Barbus, such as Barbus guirali Thomin (mvắ III, endzī́ma mvă̌), and the new Barbus malacanthus Papph., as well as several species of the genus Barilius. In addition, I have collected species from the families Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae, and Mastacembelidae, which I shall not describe in detail here.

224 The wealth of fish in the larger streams is exploited to a rela-
50 tively minor degree because the Pangwe feel themselves too unsafe with their ill-made rafts on the many rapids. Moreover, the small number of dugouts, which must also handle the traffic at river crossings, is insufficient for a satisfactory exploitation of the abundance of fish, as well as totally unsuited for a regular fishing industry

●226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (nsŏn I) and ordinary baskets (nkŏé I), poisoning fish (ngŭm IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lŭk (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dža), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [824] tied to a stalk from the pliant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkŏmonkŏmo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

226

marcrobrachyum Herklots (nwôs I) and
Caridina togoensis Hlgd. (siṅ IV).

the larvae of dragon flies, and other kinds of lower animals. The total catch, however, is pretty large. Everything is eaten, and fishing is one of the women's chief enjoyments. Accordingly, time and time again one will see all the women of a village, from the oldest grandmother down to the smallest girl, wandering into the forest where they know of a suitable stream, and there they will splash around to their heart's content until late into the night. Frequently the entire company will not return to the village until the first owl causes the silent forest to resound with its eerie call. Then they come tramping home with their rich booty which can scarcely be contained in the women's long baskets (nkūn). At a fish drive the women build fĭs (Fang, pfĭs (Ntum), or ebā'da, that is, piles of stones, little pieces of branches, or the like thrown into the water close to the bank, under which the fish gather. At the next fish drive they dam off the brook above and below this place and then catch the fish with no trouble at all after the water has run off.

226 476 The Jaunde use this method also in large streams and rivers that are not-too deep. They do not construct any dams, however; instead, the fish are driven into shallow inlets or onto flooded forest ground. Of course it must be remembered that such fish drives can be carried out only by the concerted efforts of a number of people. Hence, the chief calls together the women from the neighborhood, goes with them to the place where they want to fish, and stations them in their places. In exchange, he receives a certain share; each woman must give him half of her catch, and an uneven number is rounded off upwards.

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2. Fish driving (abŭ'lă)

This corresponds to the procedure of the Jaunde just described, but it takes place only at night and without damming the water in larger rivers.

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3. Children's angling (ngǎ́k IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé́s IV, klēs IV).

227

4. Fishing tackle (nlǒ́b I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; their hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (ekɛ̌́le nlǒ́b, elŭ́n nlǒ́b

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

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6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

7. Fish poison (ngŭ́m IV)

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278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŭ́n), Plate 9, finds a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭ́m) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makáŋ III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyó), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undúndŭ or úndóndŏle a ndžík).
4. Leaves of Duvernonia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiă,ĭ'-nya-zăm IV) (1)

[227]

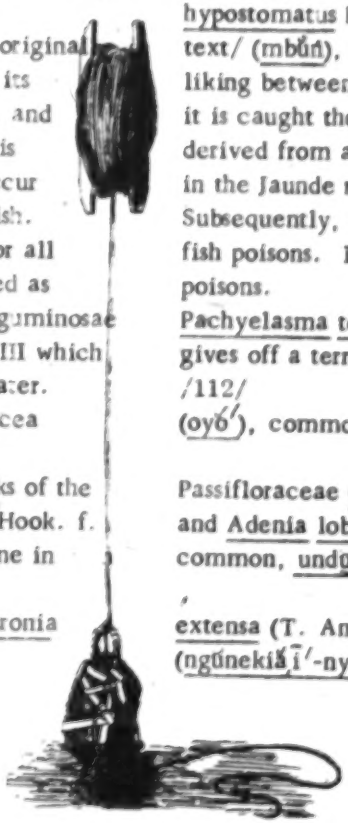

Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiă,ĭ' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

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the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tŭm IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P.B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olŭ́h), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (agbwā′ III, esɨc̄′ɨ) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndăwóló III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wóló, "to murder"; compare wŏle (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olắm)

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The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

227 285 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkŏ́é I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayă′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsŏ́ń I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 ●226 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary of the Kje, nsŏ́ń and ayă′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayă′ and nkŏ́é. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsŏ́ń, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsŏ́ń, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayă′ and two nsŏ́ń (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsŏ́ń, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayă′ (like the nkŏ́é) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayă′ and nsŏ́ń is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kɔ̃́mĕ̄šūm IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngŏ′); Synodontis

1. kɔ̂(s)-a-mašūm, that is, fish with spines on its back.

tessmanni Papph. (ngŏ́ń, nwɔ̃́ń I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntŏtɔ̃́m); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anĕ́n); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwɔ̂s); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndɔ̃na I) are also caught in it.

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226 The baskets, nkŏ́é, are the same size as the baskets of the same name used by the women in field work. They have a funnel through which the fish passes into the interior without being able to turn back. In these baskets mainly the following creatures are caught: Sarcodaces odoe (nsó I), Plate 9; Clarias walkeri, spiny-finned sheatfish; Xenocharax spilurus Gthr. (mfĭ́gă, mfĭ́nga I); Anabas pleurostigma Blgr. (awún); Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū́, evūs); Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (nkắde III; younger specimens = okié III); and common crabs. On the other hand, they do not catch Barbus guirali Thomin. (mvằằ III).

11. Basket trap (ngū̀ắ IV)

The basket trap (Fig. 64) is a longish basket with a lid in front of the opening. The lid is pulled over the opening by means of a device set up on the river bank, following the pattern of spring traps, when a fish releases the lever system attached at the farther end of the basket. A snail is placed as bait inside the basket which is anchored to the bottom of the stream in water not too deep. This trap is principally designed to catch Clarias walkeri (ngŏ́) and common crabs (kā́da).

12. Catch basket (ngŭ̀dĕgō III)

/Fig. 63 appears here in the original text./ This is a small basket with a funnel over the opening (Fig. 65), designed for the Clarias walkeri. It is placed in a river, baited with pieces of an ant nest (called dzā́k, ndzāk IV), /115/ together with ants of the species Cremastogaster striatula Em. (esŏn, osŏn), or with pieces of tree termite nests (likewise called dzā́k).

The fish baskets, ayắ, are placed individually in the river in the same way. These are baited with cassava (1) or with twigs (without

1. Whole roots of dried cassava (ndzā̀ă mbŭ́n), boiled (agbwắma mbŭ́n) and cut into small pieces.

227
226 leaves) of the Oxystigma buchholzii Harms, Leguminosae (pfũn IV). In this case the baskets are called ewũa-aya' (from a wũa, "to throw out"). /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text./

13. Giant fish baskets (edũgă, adũă)

Baskets from three to four meters long and from one to two meters wide, in other words, so large that they would hold from four to five people, are lowered into deep water where they are left for four days the first time and afterwards three days in each case. The entire basket is loosely filled with twigs of the Leguminosae Millettia thonningii Bak. (onĕmežok), the Impatiens dichroa Hook. f. (ejĕs), and especially the Euphorbiacea Cleistanthus angolensis M. Arg. (ngbă'de I); all are plants whose slime or leaves are eaten by the fish. Further, the baskets are filled with the leafy stalks of the cardamom, Aframomum albo-violaceum K. Sch. (adžŏm), or of the related Scitaminea Renealmia albo-rosea K. Sch. (adžŏm-mekūm), whose smell the fish love. Finally, also, they put into the baskets roots of the cassava and of the Euphorbiacea Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asă'm), around which the fish like to swim. The basket is open in front and is pulled out of the water open side first, so that the fish -- already hampered and confused by the tangle of roots and twigs -- cannot escape so readily. /Fig. 65 appears here in the original text./

14. Giant fish boxes (esĭé, bũũ III)

Boxes are sometimes used instead of the giant baskets. These are constructed of bark and are from three to four meters long, a meter and a half tall. Aside from their shape, they are distinguished from the baskets by a lid which is open in the water and is pulled shut when the box is drawn out of the water.

The giant fish boxes and baskets are not easy to construct or to manipulate, and for this reason they are not often seen.

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15. Fish ditches (mvēi IV., mvě)

Perpendicular to the direction of the river, a ditch (Fig. 66) is dug out and closed off from the river by a wall of bark (a) with a trap door in the middle. The ditch is furnished with bait, nests of the above-mentioned species of ants (c). Across the ditch a foot bridge is constructed (b). After the door has been left open for a number of days, it is closed one night from the foot bridge, and the fish are then taken from the ditch with a net. Again, the fish are chiefly Clarias walkeri and secondarily Marcusenius (ntotom). This method of catching fish is practiced only in the southern region.

Round fishing nets that are thrown and spread out like parachutes as they sink into the water, such as are used everywhere along the coast, are unknown to the Pangwe. The small round net which the women use for washing the cassava as well as for catching fish has already been mentioned. There remains to be discussed only one more fishing device.

16. Net trap (olǎń)

This is a combination of a net with a scaffolding. The scaffolding is shown from the rear in Figure 67. It consists of three individual parts: the front gallows (a) with two cross beams (d); the back gallows (b) with the supporting lath (c); and the center piece. The latter is composed of the net hoop (f), the net attached to it (in the illustration it has not yet been fastened on), and three long raffia stalks fastened at (x): one free (g); and two others (e) which are tied to the net hoop at y and z and rest on top of the crossbeam (c). A person sitting on the front gallows can manipulate the net with the stick (g); by this means he can lower the net (Fig. 68) or, if it is not needed, he can raise it, push it between the poles (d), and then place it (g) back on c (Fig. 69). The scaffolding is erected in a stream in such fashion that the net will lie on the bottom. The stream itself is dammed off on both sides so the fish are driven into the net by the current. They are unable to escape from the net's sharply pointed bag /117/ (see Fig. 69). The net is called etítáne. For obvious reasons, only smaller fish are caught in the net trap which, if only because of its shape, cannot be called exceedingly practical.

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/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text./

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IV. Trapping

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̌ĭ, ndǎ́ǹ I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekŭĭ́dĭ́)
   3. Spring plates (akui)
   4. Spear trap (elŭ́ǹ)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (ašĭma, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olǎ́m)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olǎ́m) (1)

1. Not to be confused with the alǎ́m (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwǎ́s I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbŭ́ǹ I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndŏ́ǹ IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekĭɛ̌le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlíǹ I)

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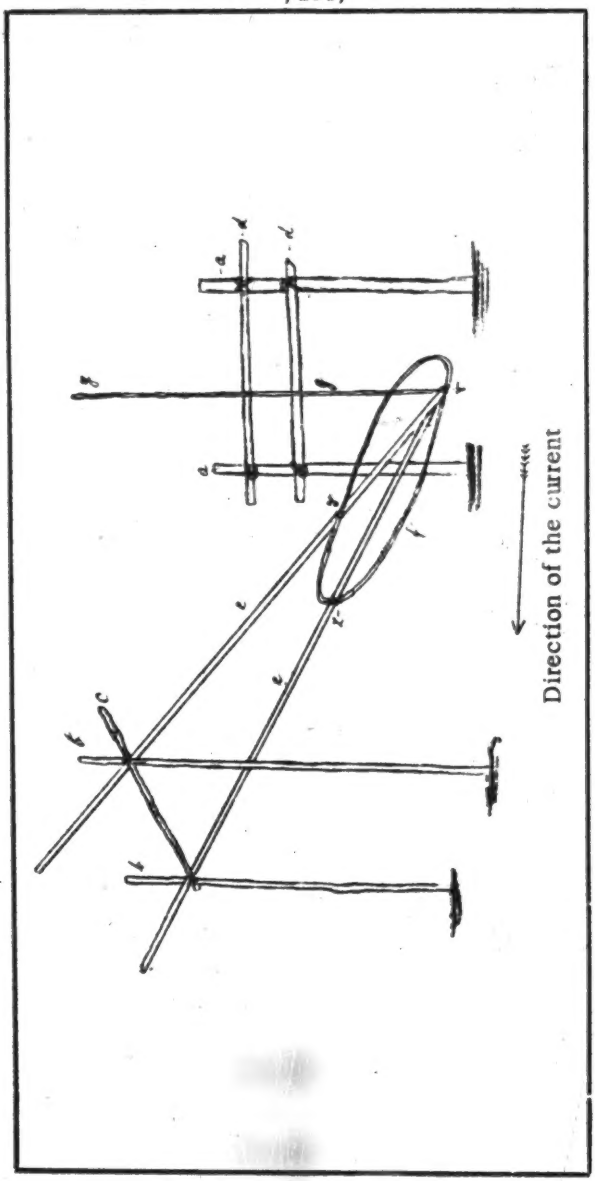

Fig. 67. Framework of a Net Trap for Fish.

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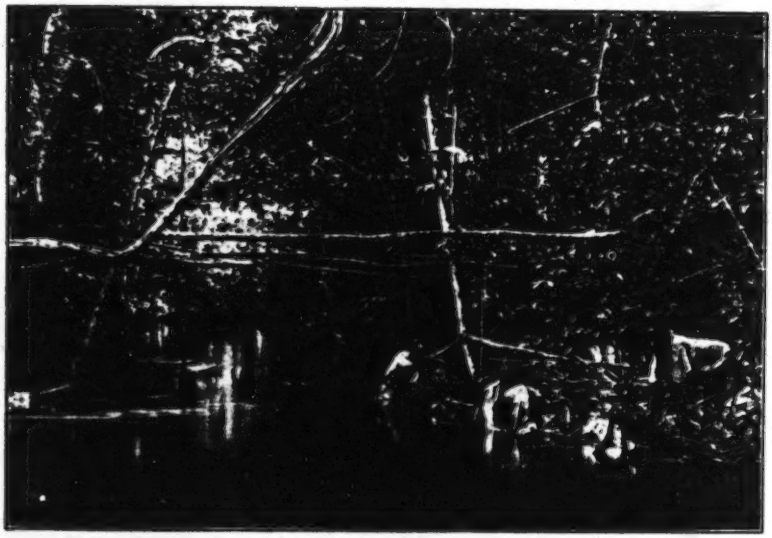

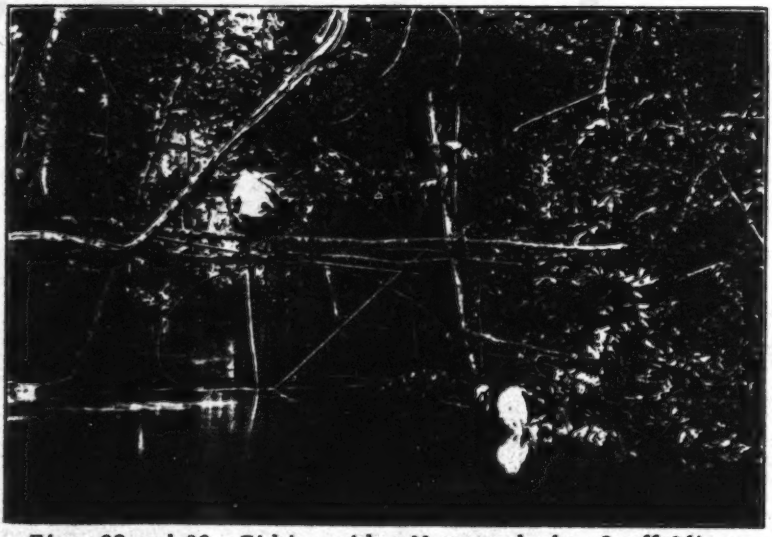

Figs. 68 and 69. Fishing with a Net attached to Scaffolding.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī.ǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aṅgūṅgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ.ṅ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
● 226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

821 again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give
773 in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),
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1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

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Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
262

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

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262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [273] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

224 Should the animal be inadvertently killed during the beat for game, it cannot take revenge for the offense, nor can the clan totem do so. By sacrifice and communion all the clan members have become sharers of the totem, which therefore would be taking revenge on itself:

"A séra né ki édjéze émièn émièn nlèm wuia (He cannot eat his own heart)."

After the meal the hunters get on with the job. They leap over the wattles, then gradually tighten the circle around the forest by means of strong cords so as eventually to drive all the encircled animals into a large clearing, prepared in advance, where they are killed one by one. Sometimes also at this place, an enormous pit has been dug in advance, and the bewildered (1)

1. This beat for game is called ngol, especially when it is for elephants.

animals fall into it.

When they have all been killed, the flaying and disemboweling begins. However, first the chief makes sure that [556] no totem animals have by mischance got into the pit. If so they are carefully removed, placed on banana leaves, and tied up so as to be disguised; the next night they are secretly carried to a distant spot and deeply buried. Yet one animal may be kept out, taken back to the village by the chief, and offered in a further sacrifice. All the hunters partake of it so as to be protected from any ritual offense.

● 226 Large fishing expeditions are occasions for almost the same ceremonies. Before beginning to dam a river or change the course of a of a stream, a totemic sacrifice is first undertaken; a victim is offered and then the actual sacrifice is made. If by chance the clan totem is a fish, the ceremonies would be identical to those described above.

After the fishing another totemic sacrifice is performed with the customary rites; to neglect this prescription might lead to grave dangers for the tribe.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 226 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

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788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 501 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses; [776] [702] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

227 Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these [939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen. [726] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 326 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkak eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and